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## PEOPLE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN GRIBE, SOUTHEASTERN CAMEROON

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**ABSTRACT** Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs) continue to draw attention due to their direct potential to increase the income of Bantu women and Baka Pygmies, who do not grow commercial crops (e.g., cacao). Until recently, Bantu men managed these forest resources; however, NTFPs have become commercialized, which has led to the formation of community associations with women as core members. This paper examines the role of the resident associations and the problems they encounter as they attempt ensure the sustainable use of NTFPs. It describes the composition of the village and the families that reside there, the ethnically-based distinctions in social status, and the socio-economic changes in the area. Even though village politics are centered around the Bantu chief, the relationships among different clans and lineages within the village remain characterized by latent social tensions and conflicts. The present-day local associations strongly reflect social relationships in the local communities. For example, Baka men and women are not included in these associations despite the fact that NTFPs are important to their livelihood. The socio-economic changes related to NTFPs have provided the Bantu, who have gained economic power, with a distinctive advantage. This study examined how the local residents in southeastern Cameroon changed their lifestyle and social associations to adapt to new social and economic conditions in the country. Ultimately, the research indicates the need for a social system that guarantees both improvements in the standard of living and the sustainable use of forest products for all groups involved.

**Key Words:** Association; Baka hunter-gatherers; Bantu-speaking cultivators; NTFPs; Social change.

### INTRODUCTION

In the rainforest of the Congo Basin, the hunter-gatherers known as “Pygmies,” who have maintained their forest-based life for thousands of years, reside in close proximity to the Bantu-speaking people, who utilize primarily slash-and-burn farming techniques in nearby sedentary villages. Some researchers have focused on the interdependence and fictive kinships between the two groups, describing the relationship between “the forest people” (Pygmies) and “the village people” (farmers) as cooperative. Others regard this relationship as hierarchical and hostile, highlighting the farmers’ exploitation of the Pygmies. Several researchers have illuminated both aspects, presenting the relationship as ambivalent (e.g., Bahuchet & Guillaume, 1982).

Baka Pygmies and Bantu-speaking people live in the forest area of southeastern Cameroon in the western part of the Congo Basin. In the 19th century, the proliferation of trading activities, including the slave trade and the sale of ivory, incorporated the people in the area into the capitalist system as part of Europe’s attempt to control Africa. Baka Pygmies and farmers were strongly influenced by

the commodity economy that began with cacao cultivation, which was first introduced by the French government in the 1920s and 1930s (Santoir, 1992); by logging, which was accompanied by increasing government control starting in the 1970s; by nature conservation activities, which spanned from the end of the 1980s to the beginning of the 1990s; and by indigenous movements, which began in 2000 (Hewlett, 2000; Hattori, 2005; Kitanishi, 2010). These modern trends continue to influence the relationship between the Baka Pygmies and the farmers.

Rupp (2011), who conducted an investigation in a village located on the major road through southeastern Cameroon, near Moloundou, noted the interethnic friendship between the Bangandou and Baka Pygmies, which was manifest in their co-hosting of marriages and ceremonies involving different ethnic groups. However, Hattori (2012), who studied the Baka people in a deeper forested area that was inaccessible via major routes, observed that the Baka did not have close social or cultural ties with the Konabembe. Instead, Hattori (2012) revealed that the Konabembe gained supremacy, even in the forested area, due to the fact that, unlike the Bangandou from the Guinean savanna area, the Konabembe are “generalists” with a rich knowledge of forest resource use. For this reason, they did not require assistance with matters pertaining to the forest. Because the regular vocational activities and degree of economic dependence vary among regions, a better understanding of the relationship between Baka Pygmies and their neighbors in each regional and social context is needed.

Hayashi (2000) also pointed out that the relationship between the farmers and the Baka had recently changed to one of “employer and employees” due to the advancement of logging industries and cacao cultivation, which has promoted a cash economy in southeastern Cameroon. Nowadays, the Baka receive wages for their labor. Consequently, the fictive kinship between specific Bakas and farmers has steadily eroded. In recent years, with the rise of cacao cultivation, merchants have come to reside with farmers and in hunter-gatherer communities as guest workers (Oishi, 2012).

Sakanashi (2010) investigated the labor relationship between the Fang and Baka Pygmies with regard to cacao cultivation in South Region of Cameroon and observed that it was difficult to attract laborers for cacao cultivation because most traveled to the city for work or school. The Fang created a system for establishing a flexible, long-term relationship with Baka Pygmies that involved regularly and frequently sending gifts.

Currently, Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs) continue to attract attention as their economic value exceeds that of logging operations (Debroux et al., 2007). NTFPs are expected to provide economic opportunities for Baka Pygmies who do not grow commercial crops, such as cacao, and for women in agricultural communities. Hence, international organizations, such as The World Bank, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) associated with development and human rights, have encouraged local resident associations to use NTFPs as a source of income. However, because the forests have been managed primarily by the male population, access to forest resources by Baka Pygmies and Bantu women has been limited, and this has created tension among ethnic groups and between men and women (Mai et al., 2011). In this context, questions arise about whether it is

possible to achieve harmony in the midst of the complicated social relationships, characterized by ethnic and gender differences, in the service of achieving the sustainable use of forest products and improvements in the standard of living. With the commodification of NTFPs, merchants travel from urban areas to obtain food (animal-based) and fruit from the forest area in southeastern Cameroon. Consequently, a village in the forest area has been effectively reorganized as a local community, where various ethnic groups, including merchants, live together following a different way of life. This paper was designed to illuminate how local residents in southeastern Cameroon have changed their lifestyles and social associations to adapt to new social and economic conditions in the country. Additionally, through an analysis of the socio-economic situation of Baka Pygmies and their agricultural neighbors in southeastern Cameroon, this paper examines the role of current resident associations in the forest area, focusing on the sustainable use of forest products and the enhancement of living standards.

## STUDY SITE AND PEOPLE

This research was conducted in Gribé village in the Boumba-Ngoko Department of the East Region of Cameroon.<sup>(1)</sup> Gribé village is located on the road to the north of Boumba-Bek National Park and is 75 km southwest from the prefectural capital, Yokadouma. This area attracted minimal traffic until the road to the village was constructed by a logging company in 2001. However, the forest remained rich in wildlife as the area was remote from development. The opening of the logging road drastically increased the human and commercial traffic involved in the acquisition of forest resources (e.g., bushmeat and various wild fruit used for seasonings) (Madzou & Ebanega, 2006; Yasuoka, 2006; 2011). The next chapter describes the composition and characteristics of Gribé village and the socio-economic changes in the area.

### I. Composition of the Inhabitants

The hunter-gatherers, or Baka Pygmies, and farmers of the Bantu or Ubangian (Adamawa-Eastern) language groups are further divided into the more than 15 groups living in the forest area of southeastern Cameroon. Baka Pygmies are distributed throughout the area. Fig. 1 shows the distribution of farmers of different language groups. Whereas there is cultural unity among Baka Pygmies, who are distributed throughout the entire area, farmers living in different villages or areas employ different ethnic names even though their language is similar to that of their neighbors. Gribé village includes Baka Pygmies and an ethnic group that claims to be Konabembe<sup>(2)</sup> and that belongs to the Bantu A85-a group (Guthrie, 1967–1971). A survey of ethnic groups in eastern Cameroon conducted in 1949 reported that the Konabembe had originally lived in the area from Ndongo, on the northern bank of the Dja River, to Molondou. The Konabembe were held captive after fighting with the Djem, another Bantu group, more than 150 years ago. It is said that after being released from their imprisonment, the Konabembe crossed the



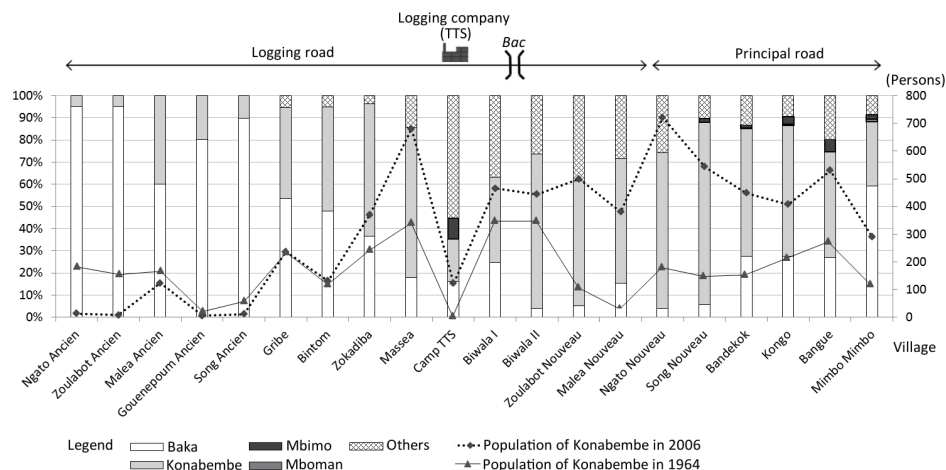


Fig. 2. Distribution of the population in Canton Konabembe in 2006.

Bek River to settle in their current location (Dugast, 1949: 108).

Nowadays, Konabembe villages can be found along the road connecting Ngato Ancien to Mimbo Mimbo through Ngato Nouveau, which is about 230 km. In this area, a second-degree chief in Canton Konabembe, based at Song Nouveau, attends to both political and administrative duties and is supported by 22 third-degree chiefs. As of 2006, 6,500 Konabembe and about 3,500 Baka Pygmies comprised Canton Konabembe (Fogue & Defo, 2006a: 16; 2006b: 17). Fig. 2 shows the ethnic composition of the village population in 2006 and the Konabembe population in 1964 and 2006. Fig. 3 presents the infrastructural improvements around the surveyed villages. As shown in Fig. 2, each village had a population of about 200 in 1964 (ORSTOM, 1966). According to the 2006 survey, the Konabembe population decreased in the villages southwest of Gribé village, whereas the Konabembe and Baka population in the villages along the main roads connected to the other side of the Bumba River increased significantly. The following three historical events contributed to this population imbalance.

#### (1) Reorganization of villages under the French regime

Under the settlement/resettlement policy launched during the French mandatory period, the government forced people in the villages to the south of Gribé to form new villages in undeveloped areas along the upper Boumba River (Fig. 3).<sup>(3)</sup> Consequently, new villages, such as Ngato Nouveau,<sup>(4)</sup> Zoulabot Nouveau, Gounepoum Nouveau, and Song Nouveau were established in a relatively accessible area that was connected to the main roads (Fogue & Defo, 2006a: 15). The 1964 census report showed that *piste auto* (in French) was introduced to Ngato Nouveau from Gribé (ORSTON, 1966), indicating that Gribé may have developed during the French regime. Therefore, although people in the villages to the south of Gribé were forced to move to new villages, those in Gribé were allowed to remain in their village.





### (2) Commercial logging in the 1970s

Commercial logging in Cameroon began during the period of the German Protectorate in the 1880s and expanded in the 1920s. Before the 1960s, timber was transported from Boumba and Ngoko Rivers to Moloundou, a southern town in the prefecture, and farther south to the port on the Atlantic Coast via the Sangha River. In 1978, the main road from Yaounde, the state capital, to Batouri in the East Region, was extended to Yokadouma, connecting the Central African Republic (Ponka, 2008: 12–14). Construction of these main roads stimulated commercial logging near the border with Congo in the 1970s. Additionally, it resulted in a population flow from the villages on the western side of the upper Boumba River, particularly Ngato Ancien and Song Ancien, to an area along the main road running from north to south between Yokadouma and Moloundou.

### (3) Introduction of logging operations to the interior forest in 1994

Toward the end of the 1980s, Cameroon experienced structural changes due to the economic crisis. Currency devaluation, implemented in 1994, triggered the expansion of logging operations into the interior forest despite the lack of economic viability (Ichikawa, 2006). In the surveyed area, the Boumba River had interfered with the flow of people and goods. However, a logging company rebuilt a floating bridge (*bac* in French) over the Boumba River in 1996 and opened a sawmill, Transformation Tropicale du Sud (TTS), in 1998 (Fig. 4). It is said that the population around the TTS increased by 1,000 from 1999 to 2000 (Fogue & Defo, 2006a: 15). The construction of the *bac* attracted buyers and merchants who, in turn, purchased cacao from the area and sold manufactured goods from outside the forest; as a result, the development of the market economy in the area was accelerated. Fig. 2 shows that the population of Baka Pygmies was relatively similar to



**Fig. 4.** Logging truck crossing the Boumba River at the *bac* or “floating bridge.”



**Table 1.** Population and ethnic/sex composition of people originally from Cameroon and other countries in Grike village (May 2013)

Residence	Ethnic group	Female	Male	Total	
Cameroon (N = 765)					
-East Region	Baka	207	200	407	Hunter-gatherer
	Konabembe	133	190	323	
	Kako	5	2 *	7	Bantu farmer
	Mpompon		12	12	
	Mbimo		2	2	
	Dzimou/ Ndimou		1	1	
	Badjue		1	1	
-Central Region	Beti (Ewondo, etc)	2	2	4	
	Mangisa		1	1	
-West Region	Bamileke	1	1	2	
-North / Ex-North Region	Fulbe		3	3	
	Bororo		2	2	
Other Countries (N = 7)					
-Central African Republic	unknown	1		1	Bantu and Muslim merchant
-Mali	unknown		1	1	
-Nigeria	Hausa		1	1	
-Niger	Hausa		1	1	
-Guinia Conakry	Fulbe		3	3	
Total		349	423	772	

\* A male Kako merchant moved to Grike village in 1986. But now he and his children mainly practice cash-crop farming (cacao).

that of Konabembe individuals in Grike village compared with that in other villages. As of June 2013, the population in Grike village (772 in total) consisted of 407 Baka Pygmies, 323 Konabembe, 28 other Bantu people associated by marriage, and 14 Bamileke and Muslim merchants (seven from other parts of Cameroon and seven migrants from other countries) (Table 1). As mentioned in the section on the history of the reorganization of villages, the balance between the Baka Pygmy and the Konabembe populations has been maintained since the previous forced settlement (or resettlement). Hence, Grike is a relatively appropriate venue for research on the social relationship between the Baka and the Konabembe. However, many merchants both from within and outside of the country now reside as a result of the economic changes associated with the logging industry.

#### (4) Merchants and commercialization of NTFPs

Nineteen merchants have passed through or settled in since 1982, when Grike villagers established a small retail business with its neighbors, the Konabembe, to sell sugar, salt, and soap. As of June 2013, 14 merchants who conduct business in the village and its surroundings reside in the village. In 1986, a Fulbe man from the Adamawa Region in the northern part of Cameroon and a Kako man, a Bantu farmer from the savanna area, moved to Grike village. Originally, they engaged in a retail business while purchasing cacao and ivory; it was not until the 1980s that they began buying NTFPs, a practice that is common in the village

today. In 1995, a Fulbe from the Garua area in northern Cameroon first started purchasing NTFPs in the village. Ten years ago, NTFPs were recognized as the main trading commodity, that were equivalent to that of cacao in the village of Gribé. Currently, a total of seven merchants (all of whom are Muslims of the Fulbe, Bororo, and Hausa groups from northern Cameroon, Mali and Nigeria) reside in Gribé, primarily to purchase NTFPs.

Although the Baka Pygmies and agricultural people in the Gribé area have maintained a stable relationship for more than 100 years, they are now experiencing social pressure to adapt to new economic developments.

## II. Establishment of Gribé Village

The people in Gribé village reported that the French colonial government chose the name “Gribé” for a new village to which people were forced to move. Local residents refer to Gribé village as Damamie, which is derived from the first Canton Konabembe (*roi des Konabembe*), Moamie. Moamie allegedly protected the village from the German and French invasion. The origin of Gribé village thus predates the colonization of Cameroon by Germany.

According to Gribé legend, the village was founded by a man known as Pip, who had come from Messia, which is near Messok and situated to the west of Gribé. He came to the village with his brothers, Keya and Ambil. Keya moved to a new location, near Gribé, and founded Zokadiba village.

Pip lived with his family, moving around a forest. They met a sturdy young man in the forest. He was the man called Moamie. He was allegedly a man of Mbimo, one of Bantu groups, and had come from Mboy village located near the border with Central Africa. When Moamie came to Gribé, German troops attempted to occupy the area including Gribé village.<sup>(5)</sup> Baka Pygmies and Konabembe escaped to a forest in fear of the German invasion from Ngato Ancien village. But, Moamie bravely fought against and pushed out the troops. The Konabembe, who wanted fearless Moamie to live in the village, had a blood-sworn relationship with him.<sup>(6)</sup>

Moamie, who had established a close alliance with Pip’s family, was designated as the first village chief of Gribé village. His son later moved to Ngato Nouveau, and his family has been a pillar of the political community of the Konabembe and the Canton Konabembe. Hence, the legend of Moamie and Pip is important to the Konabembe villagers because it validates their identity.<sup>(7)</sup>

The family groups that descended from Pip and Moamie are known as *dje*-Waa. Some Konabembe remain in Messok, which is allegedly Pip’s home village, as well as in other villages, such as Messie, Zokadiba, and Balekop, which are not shown on the map depicting the distribution of ethnic groups. In particular, the *dje*-Waa people living in Zokadiba and Messie have kinship relationships with the people in Gribé village. Leclerc (2012), who conducted anthropological research in the Lomie and Messia areas, underscored that the relationship between the Dzimou (or Ndimou/Ndimu, another group of Bantu farmers) and the Konabembe

in the area had changed between the era of the slave trade and the period of German or French colonization.

In southeastern Cameroon, slaves were secretly sold either via a northern or western route from the 1850s to the 1890s. In the northern route, the Fulbe living in the northern area were engaged in the slave trade through the intermediary of Gbaya and Kako near the border area of forest and savanna. In the western route, ivory, women and slaves were sold abroad via Bulu and Fang living in the area connecting the coast to the interior. It is said that the Dzimou<sup>(8)</sup> were involved in these illicit sales to get the slaves in the interior forest area. The Gribé people lived as Dzimou's prisoners (or slaves?) in the Messia Ancien village. (Leclerc, 2012: 38–45) In the First World War, southeastern Cameroon was the site of a hard-fought battle between the German troops in Cameroon and the French army from Congo. A French outpost area was located in Ngato Ancien, a few kilometres away, whilst a German was in Messia Ancien (near Messok), where, at that time, Baka Pygmies and Dzimou resided. Dzimou (including the Konabembe people) lived in both of the villages. Then, the Dzimou people in the French outpost told their relatives on the German side that French troops would attempt attacking the German outpost at dawn. Since then, the Dzimou accepted the French proposal to live along the roads. With this settlement policy of the French authorities, the present villagers called "Dzimou" in Messia moved to the Canton Konabembe area [and were] naturalized because they themselves originated from the Konabembe. In the reorganization of villages, French authorities did not care about ethnic differences in the villagers. Consequently, new villages were given to ethnic groups, who had not had their own home villages. (Leclerc, 2012: 95)

According to Leclerc (2012), several names are used for the Bantu language group because name changes and language borrowing were common as groups resettled, resided with other ethnic groups, and escaped from slavery during the process of assimilation.

Some elders in Gribé village reported that the Dzimou treated the Konabembe as slaves. According to a document from Canton Konabembe (Lekabothmony, unknown), an operation known as *bolaka-y-eboum* (vengeance and return) occurred during the Liberation War, after 1750. Subsequently, the Konabembe returned to their land, and others remained in the Dzimou area (Nzime) and established their village at this location. However, the Gribé did not mention their relationship with the Dzimou in the historical context of *dje-Waa*, in which Pip and Moamie are thought of as heads of the group. The assertion that Pip was the founder of the village is important to the Konabembe in Gribé village because it validates their political status. Because *dje-Waa* is the lineage of Canton Konabembe, these families were discussed as the "true" Konabembe, and their family members usually assume political and administrative roles. Therefore, *dje-Waa* may not have originated during under Dzimou control; instead, the history of the Konabembe may have changed as a function of changes in the power balance in the village.

## SOCIAL UNITS IN GRIBÉ

## I. Family and Lineage among the Konabembe

The Konabembe consist of patrilineal groups, called *da* or *dje*, which also means “families” or “people.” These patrilineal groups are exogamous,<sup>(9)</sup> and in each of these “families,” a person is recognized as an ancestor if he or she has patrilineal relationships with other members of the “family.” According to documents from Canton Konabembe, the name of current general (*chef de guerre*) originated from the Konabembe lineage<sup>(10)</sup> during the aforementioned *bolaka-y-eboum* (vengeance and return) operation; these documents also describe Pip as a general (*chef de guerre*). The *dje*, the Konabembe lineage, was established before *bolaka-y-eboum*; and the *da*, which means *chez* (at somebody’s home in French), was formed after this event (Lekabothmony, unknown).

At present, 30 such lineages exist in Canton Konabembe: Eight *djes*, 18 *das*, and four lineages borrowed from other ethnic groups (e.g., the descendants of a pioneer from outside the Konabembe area). There are 21 Konabembe lineages in Gribé village. The heads of nine of these are Konabembe lineages of Gribé village. The others are the external lineages brought by the wives who married into Gribé. Four of these lineages with external origins were founded in Gribé village.

Fig. 5 shows the four lineages of the Gribé origin. The *dje*-Waa lineage includes two descendants: Pip (P1 in Fig. 5) and his relatives who subsequently moved to Gribé village (Moluap and Lopouak in Fig. 5) as well as Moamie’s lineal relatives. The village also contains the *da*-Nyih (N1 in Fig. 5; the family of the present village chief) and the *da*-Bopel (B1 in Fig. 5), the two family groups of the Zoulabot Ancient and the Malea Ancient villages, respectively, from which Konabembe, the husband of Moamie’s daughter, originated. In addition to the family groups described above, the *da*-Djeck, whose ancestor Kamanda (J1 in Fig. 5) came from Ndongo village, located approximately 100 km to the south of Gribé, across the Bek River, also resided in Gribé. As mentioned above in the short history, the Konabembe are said to have lived in the Ndongo area more than 150 years ago. Today, the residents around Ndongo are referred to as a Bantu group and refer to themselves as Bakwele.<sup>(11)</sup> It is not clear whether Kamanda was part of the Konabembe group that remained in Ndongo or if he was a Bakwele. Because the Konabembe and Bakwele groups speak similar languages (both Bantu A85), it is possible that the same ethnic group became divided after internal strife and eventually changed ethnic names.

The Konabembe family in Gribé village originated in another ethnic group. The Konabembe understanding of the origin of the *dje*-Waa family is ambiguous and appears to be influenced by the dominance of the Dzimou (another group of Bantu farmers) over them. The legitimacy of the origins of the Gribé villagers is founded on their own claim to be “first comers” to the land. Nevertheless, it is politically critical for the villagers to know to which clan or lineage they belong because the balance of power among different groups greatly affects the distribution of benefits from the enormous taxes and goods provided by the logging companies

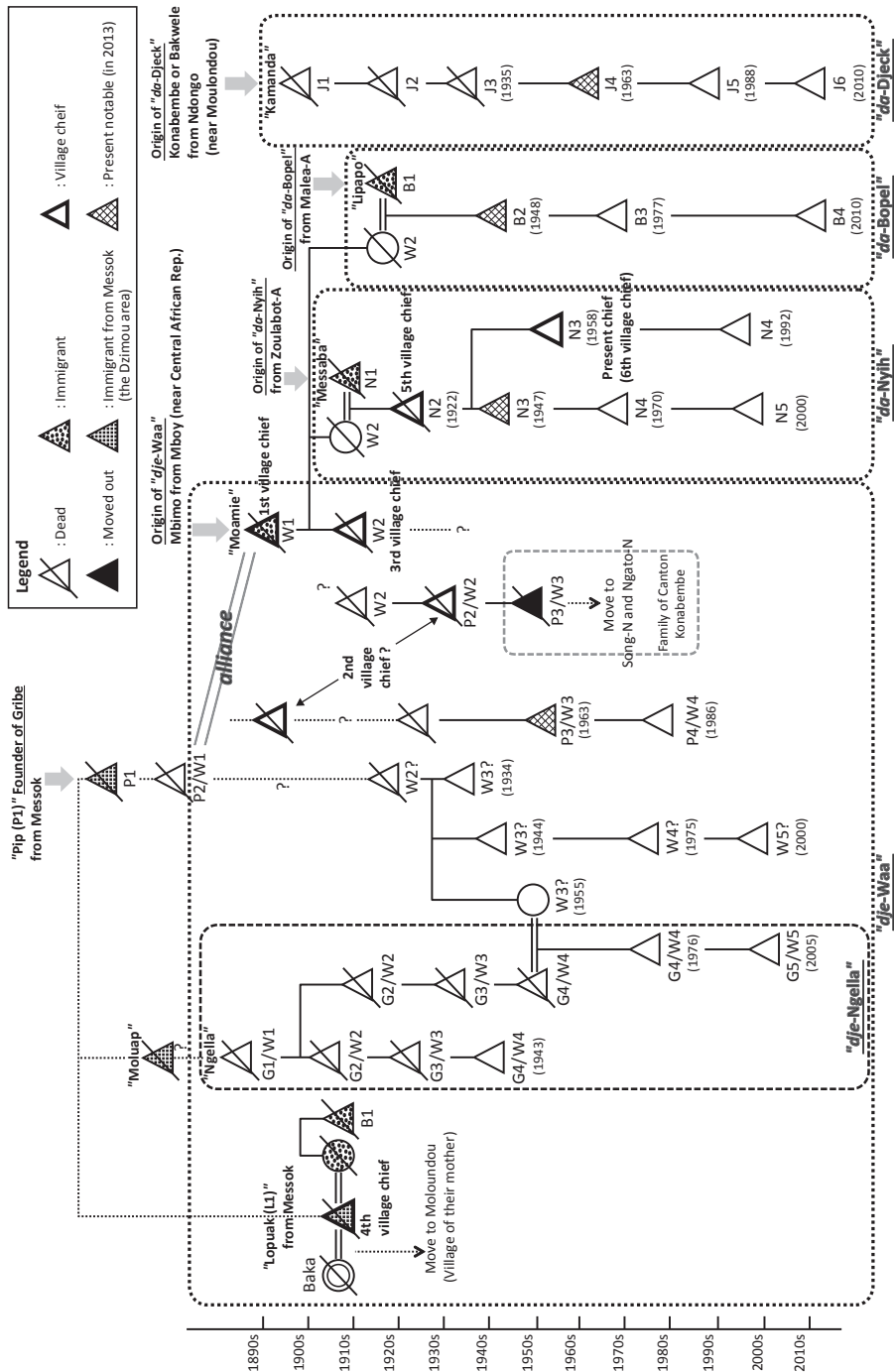


Fig. 5. Genealogy of Konabembe in Grike village.



as well as the opportunities provided by these companies to be employed for felling trees and constructing roads. Even though village politics centers on the Konabembe chief, latent social tensions and conflicts among different clans or lineages within the village are always present.

In Gribé village, *notable* (in French) posts (as shown in Fig. 5) are assigned to chiefs of the Konabembe lineage (*chef de famille* in French) of Gribé origin to maintain the proper balance of power. Beside these, one notable post was given to a powerful male Kako merchant who moved to the area in 1986. Important matters, such as how to distribute the money from external sources, are decided by the village head and the notables, and such money may eventually go to each family. Konabembe and other Bantu people who have recently settled in the village, as well as all the Baka people are not allowed to participate in the political processes of the village. Although a position known as *kukuma* or “the village head of the Baka people” exists, it involves only minor duties such as communication with government agents, and no special authority or prestige is attached to the position. Baka people often describe the politics of Gribé village as follows: “Konabembe people do politics without caring about other, non-Konabembe people, and then try to engage them in politics without caring about them.”

## II. Baka Family

Many researchers have studied Baka social relationships (Joiris 1998; Tsuru, 1998; Rupp 2011; Leclerc, 2012). The Baka contain groups known as *yè*, patrilineal clans that correspond to Konabembe’s *da* and *dje*. People of the same clan cannot marry each other. However, according to Tsuru (1998), *yè* members of the Baka do not always form a localized community nor share memories of common descent or myths of origin.

According to Brisson (2010), 35 clans exist among the Baka in Cameroon, whereas Tsuru (1998), who conducted an extensive survey along the road from Yokadouma up to Moloundou, identified 26 clans. Within Gribé village alone, 11 Baka clans were identified; four, Doumou, Màmbé, Njèmbè, and Likèmbà, comprise a major part of the Baka in the Gribé village (Table 2). The clan with the greatest number of people in Gribé village is the *yè*-Doumou, known as the “tam-tam” (meaning “drum struck with hands”) clan,<sup>(12)</sup> with 145 people and 27 families. The Doumou, Màmbé, Njèmbè, Likèmbà, and Silò clans are widely distributed across an extensive area from southern Cameroon, where the Fang and Bulu people (Bantu farmers) live, to the roadside area from Yokadouma to Moloundou; these clans do not form localized communities. Thus, it is difficult to trace the genealogical relationship between the two subgroups of the same *yè*-Doumou, one of which had been living in Gribé before the other group came from Mikel in the 1940s on the occasion of a marriage. In contrast to the Konabembe, who are integrated into a hierarchical social organization, Baka society appears to have no group integration on a level higher than that of the patrilineage of the residential group, as pointed out by Tsuru (1998).

Table 2. Number of households by clan and settlement membership in Gribé village

Settlement	Ethnic group clan/linage	Hunter-gatherer								Bantu					Other Bantu					Muslim			Subtotal																		
		[Gribe]			[other]					[Gribe]					[other]					Nzimu / Badjone				Kako			Mbimo			Mpongpong			Bamileke			Fulbe			Mali		
		Baka	yè-Doumoun	yè-Mambé	yè-Likèmbà	yè-Njèmbé	yè-Silò	yè-Donga	yè-Ndongo	yè-Makombo	Subtotal	Konabembe	dje-Waa	da-Djeck	da-Nyih	da-Bopel	da-Djeus	da-Djema'a	da-Mno'oh	dje-Mekera	dja-Nunuck	da-Pom	Subtotal																		
Roadside	Dimpka/Dingpa		15	9	6	11	3	2			46		24	11	8	7		2	1		1	54	0																		
	Gribe centre										0												12																		
	Acacia		2	5	3						10												0																		
	Koual		2		4	2			3	1	12		3	1	2	1	1				1	8	0																		
	Moamekok		1	1	1						2		1					1	2	2		6	0																		
	Touke		1					1		2							4					6	0																		
	Subtotal		21	14	14	11	5	2	4	1	72		25	14	9	9	5	4	3	2	2	1	74	160																	
Secondary forest (Forest camp)	Kpokpo		1								1											0																			
	Goabio		2								2												0																		
	Disso II		1	1							2												0																		
	Tengue			1			1				2												0																		
	Kpokpo doua			1							2												0																		
	Lipeke										3												0																		
	Disso I				1	1	1				6												0																		
	Goalili			1	2	1	1		1		1												0																		
	Zaire		2	2							4												0																		
	Mangolo						1				1												0																		
	Subtotal		6	7	3	3	4	0	1	0	24		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	25																
	Total		27	21	17	14	9	2	5	1	96		25	14	9	9	5	4	3	2	2	1	74	185																	

The settlements of each clan or lineage chief are indicated in grey.

### III. Marriage in Gribé

The settlements of the Konabembe and other Bantu farmers are basically formed by paternal relatives. Each nuclear family, consisting of a father, a mother and their children lives in its own house, and is connected to other nuclear families living nearby through patrilineal ties, and this constitutes a settlement. Each settlement has a family meeting place or *mbanjo*, where the male family members traditionally meet to eat together. Recently, however, the Konabembe have become more oriented toward nuclear families; as a result, meals occur more often in the kitchen or salon in their own houses than at the *mbanjo*.

Fig. 6 shows major Baka patrilineage-based groups in Gribé by residential unit (*quartier* in French).<sup>(13)</sup> The Baka people in Gribé form residential units that consist of patrilineally related nuclear families in which men in their 50s and 60s play a dominant role. Baka people, however, frequently change their residential locations. In principle, the Baka live in the house of the bride's family for a certain length of time after marriage so that the groom can pay money or provide labor to the bride's family. Afterwards, the couple usually moves to the husband's settlement. However, many exceptions have been observed, including one couple that remained in the wife's settlement and others involving migration between the husband's and wife's sides of the family. In contrast, Konabembe couples and couples from other farming people usually live in the settlements of the groom's family after the bridewealth is paid. Marriages between a Bantu man and a Baka woman sometimes occur, and the couple assumes virilocal residence.

Table 3 presents the marital relationships among the Gribé residents as of June 2013. Fig. 7 spatially illustrates the home villages of the Gribé residents and their marital relationships. More than half of Konabembe couples consist of Konabembe men and women. However, 30 of the 47 married Konabembe couples (note that two of the 47 women reside outside the village) include women from outside the village. Farmers of ethnic groups other than the Konabembe have moved to Gribé village, primarily due to marriage to the Konabembe. In contrast, many Muslim merchants from northern Cameroon or outside the country work away from home, leaving their wives and children in their home village (with the exception of the Mali man, who is married to a younger sister of a Konabembe village chief).

Although relationships between Baka women and Konabembe or other Bantu men are frequent within the village, this is far less common when it comes to marriage. Indeed, marriage between Baka and Bantu people is strongly discouraged due to the economic disparity between the groups. Baka men have difficulty in paying the bride's price to Bantu families and also encounter with discrimination by farmers. However, Fig. 5 shows that the second wife of the fourth Konabembe chief was Baka, and Table 3 shows that the deceased wife of a Baka man in his 50s was a Bangandou woman (indicated by an asterisk in Table 3), suggesting that marriage between Baka and Bantu farmers may have been more common in the past than it is today.

As of June 2013, 66 (3/4) of the 88 Baka couples consisted of two Baka individuals from the Gribé village. The Baka females in 14 couples married into Gribé from other villages in the Konabembe area. Additionally, the Baka females in

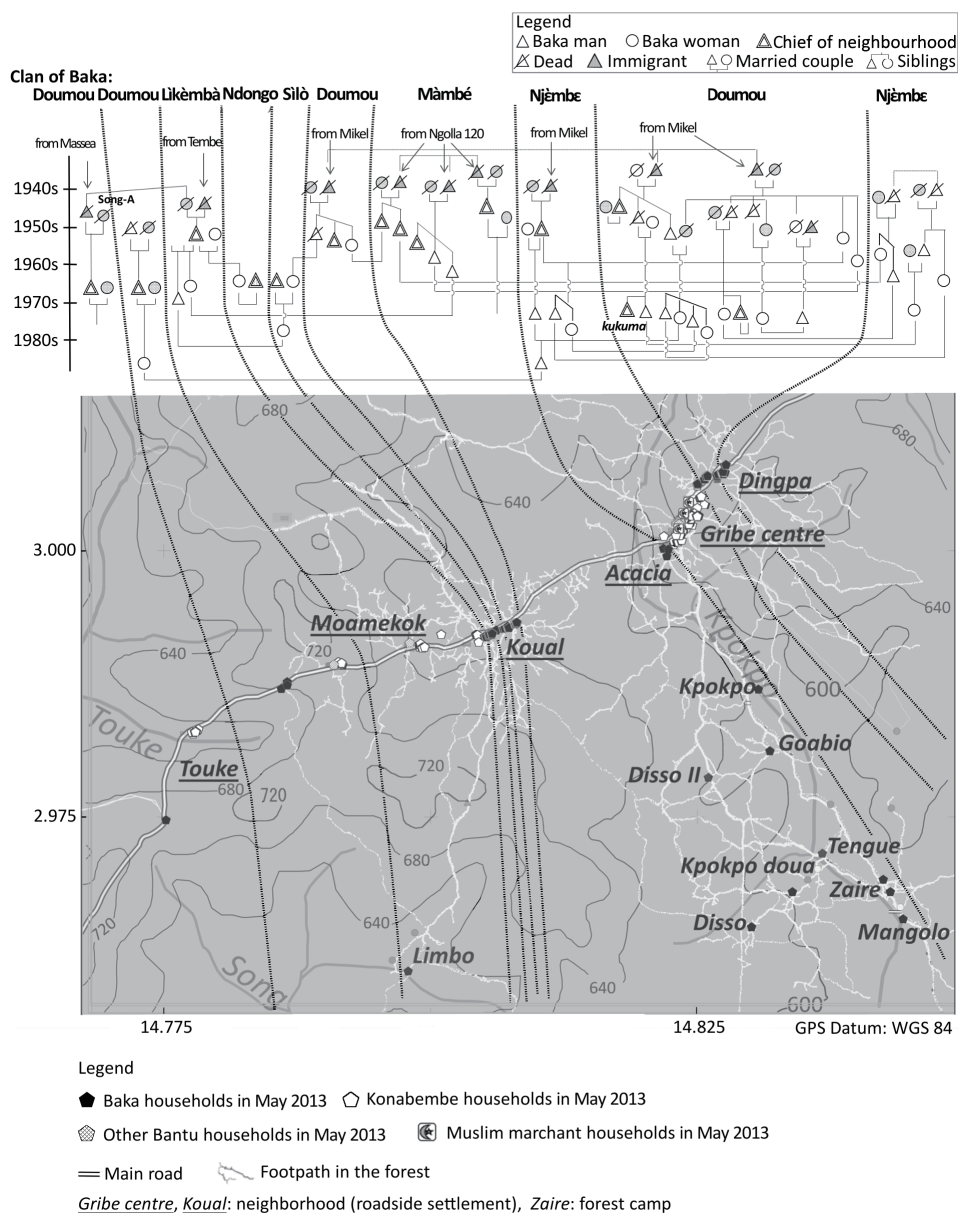


Fig. 6. Baka clans and neighborhoods.

**Table 3.** Marriage per ethnic groups in Gribé (May 2013)

Nationality Region	Cameroonian			Other countries		
	East		Central	West	North	
Male (N = 172)	Female (N = 161)					
Baka	87	-	-	-	-	-
Kobamembe	3 (1)	47 (2)	3	2 (1)	-	1 (1)
Mpompon	-	6	-	1 (1)	-	-
Mbimo	1 (1)	-	-	-	-	-
Kako	1	4 (1)	1 (1)	-	-	-
Dzimou (Bizam)	-	1 (1)	-	-	-	-
Beti	1 (1)	-	-	-	-	-
Ewondo	-	-	1	-	-	-
Hausa	-	-	-	-	2 (2)	-
Guinia Conakry	-	-	-	-	1	-
Mali	-	1	-	-	-	1
Total	90	56	5	1	0	1

The figures in parentheses are the number of wives living outside Gribé village, the underlined figures are the number of husbands living in the village outside Gribé.

\*: A deceased wife.

\*\*: Peoples originally from other countries. Their ethnic groups were unknown.



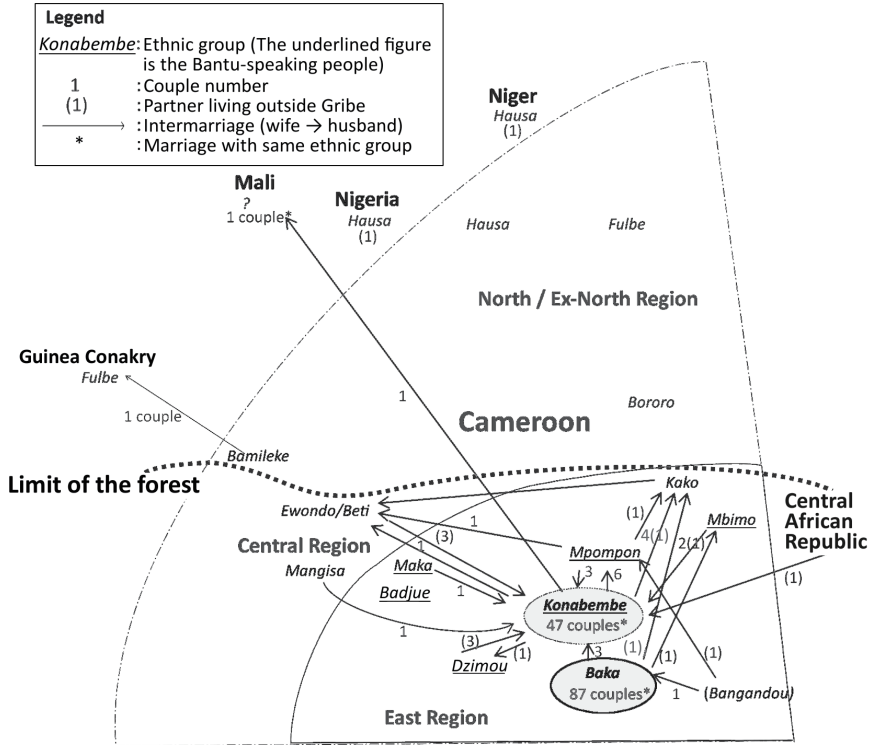


Fig. 7. Intermarriages of Grike villagers (May, 2013).

seven couples from the Mboman area (stretching from Mikel village to Nogolla120) and in one couple from the Dzimou area around Lomie married into the Baka group.

The Konabembe residents of Grike have chosen Konabembe females outside the village or other Bantu females as their marriage partners and expand their patrilineal families. In contrast, Baka people marry Baka individuals of other clans in the same Grike village; hence, as shown in Fig. 6, all Baka clans are related by consanguineous, affinal relationships. However, by tracing the family trees in interviews conducted with Baka elders (21 males and females over 50 years of age), it was determined that more than half of the men of their parents' generation had come from the area between Mikel and Ngolla 120 to marry Baka females living in the Grike area.

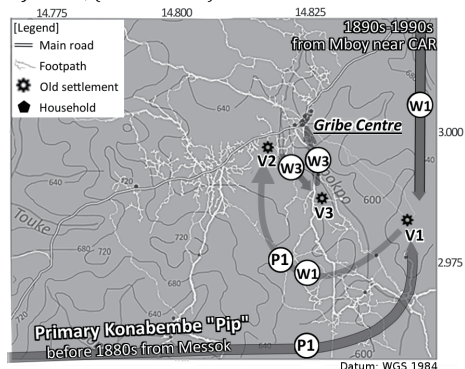
The relationships between the Baka people in the Mikel area and their relatives in Grike have weakened. The reasons for this trend include a higher concentration of settlements along the road, which has led people to travel only between settlements along the road, as well as the 2005 designation as a national park.<sup>(14)</sup> The national park area includes a key forest footpath connecting Mikel and Grike, resulting in a decline in travel along the forest path.<sup>(15)</sup>

## SOCIAL CHANGES AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS IN GRIBÉ

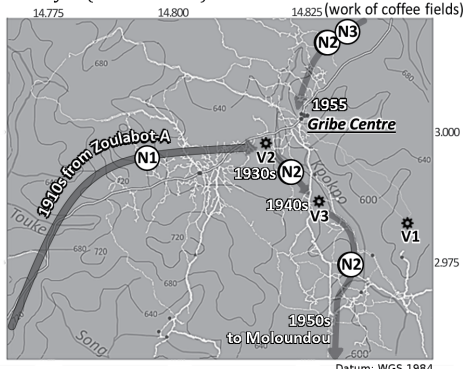
## I. History of Settlement Changes

In this section, I discuss the changes in settlements and land use by the Gribé villagers in relation to the actual geographical data. According to my research on the birthplace of Gribé village residents ( $N = 772$ , including eight people with unknown birthplaces), only 74 people ( $< 10\%$ ) were born in a hospital, 572 (including 275 Baka) were born in the village, and 118 were born in the forest camp. Fig. 8 shows a schematic diagram that was created from data obtained in interviews with the elders of each family; the GPS information obtained by physically visiting their places of habitation provided location information about the places of residence of the Konabembe, other Bantu-speaking farmers, and merchants as well as about changes in their residences as of June 2013. Fig. 9 shows the farming camps, hunting camps, and wild-fruit (e.g., bush mango [*Irvingia* spp.]) gathering camps used by the Gribé villagers; this information was obtained from interviews conducted about the birthplace of all Baka individuals in Gribé village and about the settlements in which they had spent their childhood and youth.<sup>(16)</sup>

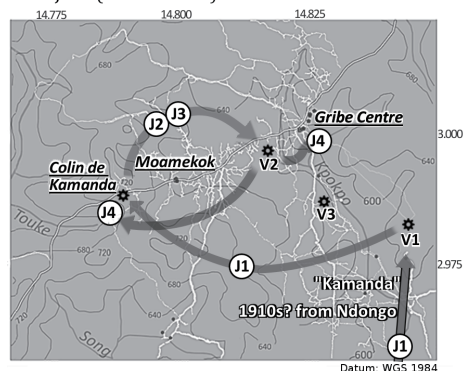
The Gribé area is comprised of rolling hills at an altitude of 600–710 m above sea level; it is close to the Song and Touke Rivers, tributaries of the Bek River, and to the Kpokpo River, a tributary of the Bumba River. According to the Konabembe and Baka elders of Gribé village, the Gribé people had changed their settlement location three times (Fig. 8) before the current settlements along the road were established.<sup>(17)</sup> In the 1920s, the nephew of Kamanda (an ancestor of *da-Djeck*) from Ndongo developed the land called Moamekok (meaning a “small hill” in the Konabembe language), located 700 m above sea level. Apart from this, all the sedentary settlement sites of the present Gribé villagers were located on gently undulating land, 600–650 m above sea level, along the Kpokpo River and along the forest paths leading to Mikel village that were used by the Baka. Since the 1980s, Konabembe of different clans have migrated from neighboring villages. The hilly terrain, more than 700 m above sea level, such as Moamekok and Touke (derived from the names of the rivers), were developed by these Konabembe individuals. In Gribé village, the former inhabitants preferentially used the gentle slopes around Kpokpo River, whereas late-arriving immigrants, without land, expanded the village by developing the less gentle, hilly terrain. As of June 2013, 185 households occupied six sedentary settlements in an approximately 7-km stretch along the road, and 10 semi-sedentary settlements were located in the second-growth forest around Kpokpo River (Table 2). All the villagers, except for the Baka, reside in settlements along the road, and approximately one-third of all residents live in the settlement known as Gribé Center (*Gribé Centre* in French). Gribé Center contains the chief’s office (*chefferie* in French), an elementary school established in 1959, a mosque, a Catholic church, a Protestant church (Eglise Presbytérienne Camerounaise = EPC in French), and retail stores and bars. In contrast, as of June 2013, 25% of Baka households were located in semi-sedentary settlements in the secondary forests. Current settlements along the

*Dje-Waa, (Konabembe) in Grike*

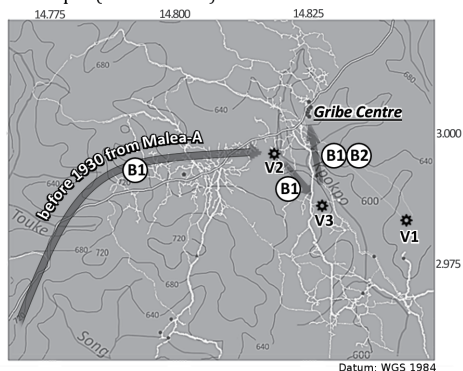
◆ Dje-Waa, households (Konabembe) in May 2013  
N = 25 households, F 49 persons, m: 75 persons  
Grike Centre: neighborhoods

*Da-Nyih (Konabembe) in Grike*

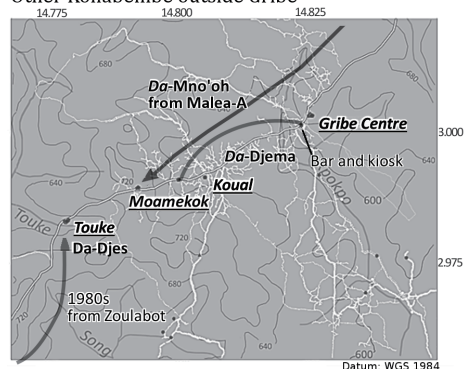
◆ Da-Nyih households (Konabembe) in May 2013  
N = 9 households, F 31 persons, m: 13 persons  
Grike Centre: neighborhoods

*Da-Djeck (Konabembe) in Grike*

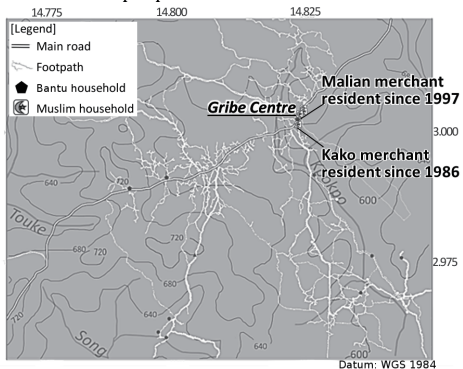
◆ Da-Djeck households (Konabembe) in May 2013  
N = 14 households, F 16 persons, m: 29 persons  
Grike Centre, Moamekok: neighborhoods

*Da-Bopel (Konabembe) in Grike*

◆ Da-Bopel households (Konabembe) in May 2013  
N = 16 households, F 16 persons, m: 18 persons  
Grike Centre: neighborhoods

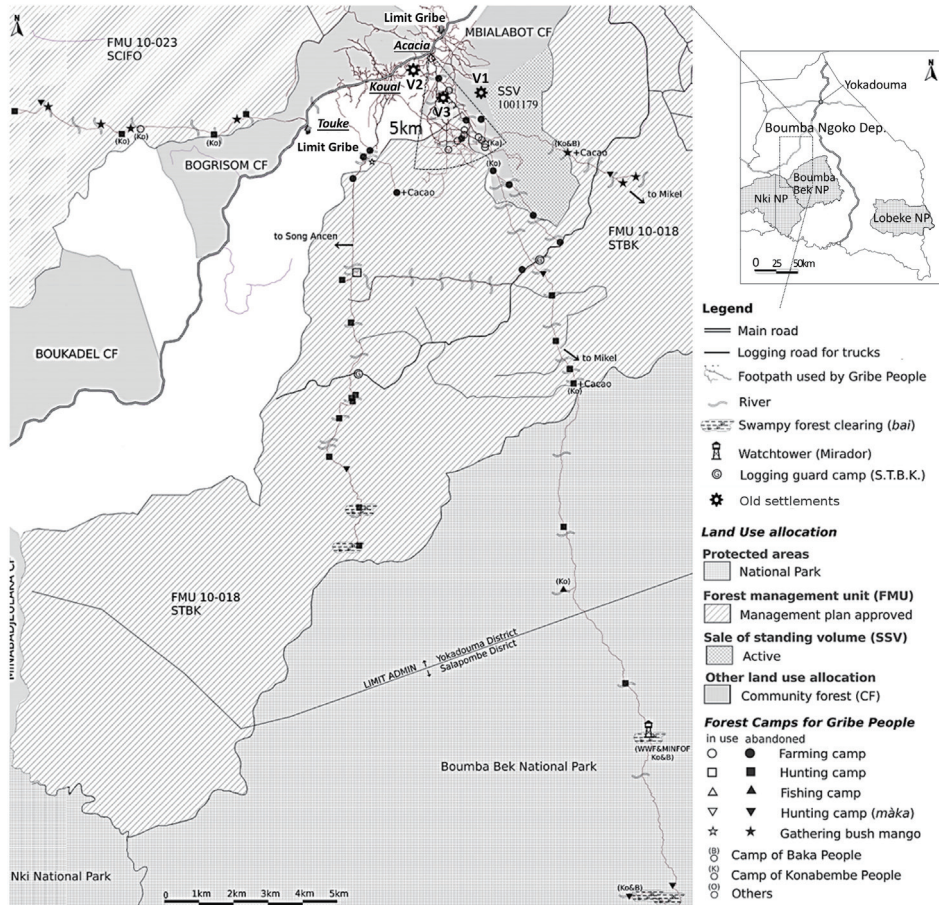
*Other Konabembe outside Grike*

◆ Other Konabembe households in May 2013  
N = 17 households, F 40 persons, m: 33 persons  
Grike Centre, Koual, Moamekok, Touke: neighborhoods

*Other Bantu peoples and merchants*

◆ Other Bantu households (Kako:4, Mbimo:1, Mponmpong:1) in May 2013  
N = 6 households, F 19 persons, m: 29 persons  
☞ Merchant households (Fulbe:3, Hausa:1, Bamileke:1, Mali:1) in May 2013  
N = 6 households, F 5 persons, m: 6 persons

Fig. 8. Migration history of the Konabembe.



**Fig. 9.** Forest camps and paths used by the Gribé population (May 2013).

Data sources:

National Institute of Cartography, 2009. Forest infrastructure: Ministry of Forestry and Wildlife; Ministry of Public Works; World Resources Institute; Global Forest Watch; Center for International Forestry Research; Limbe Botanical Garden, 2011. Forest Management: Ministry of Forestry and Wildlife; World Resources Institute; Canadian International Development Agency, 2011. Land use (logging road, forest camps and paths used by the Gribé populations etc.): field work from August 2011 to May 2013.

road on which most of Baka individuals live, such as Dimpka/Dingpa,<sup>(18)</sup> were developed 28 years ago by the former *kukuma* (head of the Baka) of the Doumou clan. The Koual settlement, with the second largest population, was established 18 years ago by a Baka man in his 60s from the Likembà clan. Thus, the Baka in Gribé village developed settlements along the road only 20–30 years ago.



## II. Natural Resource Use and Associations in Gripe

As indicated in Fig. 9, the inhabitants of Gripe have settled within 5 km range from the roadside, and utilized the secondary and primary forests for hunting and gathering, as far as 30 km from the village. In the 1990s, however, the forest around the Gripe village, except for the narrow strip along the road, was designated as “a permanent forest domain.” This forest domain is under the protection of the government (the National Park or Forest Management Unit [FMU] used for commercial logging). Although the protection of the forests from exploitation that excludes the inhabitants from access to the forests has been criticized recently, some conservation projects have been promoting new conservation measures that emphasize active participation by the local people in establishing a “Community Forest” (CF)<sup>(19)</sup> and that adopt an “adaptive management” approach. The legal right to a “Community Forest” can now be established by a group of villagers, provided that they form a “communal initiative group” (Groupe d’Initiative Commune = GIC in French), an “association,” “cooperative,” or “economic interest group” (Groupement d’Intérêt Économique = GIE in French) with a clearly defined membership (Rupp 2011: 29; Eloundou 2012: 147). The Appendix lists all the community associations in Gripe as of June 2013. Gripe has two GICs for Community Forests: Bogrissom CF (registration date: August 2012) and Mbialabot CF (registration date: September 2011). The members of these GICs, including a few Baka men and Konabembe women, are beginning to utilize and conserve their CF.

Other community associations related to natural resources include the Comité de Valorisation des Ressources Fauniques (in French), or COVAREF, that manages revenues from sport hunting in community-managed hunting zones (Zone d’Intérêt Cynégétique à Gestion Communautaire = ZICGC in French) and the Comité Paysans Forêt (in French), or CPF, that manage revenues generated from FMUs. These groups include Baka men and Konabembe women who meet the requirements of international aid agencies, such as the Netherlands Development Organization (SNV). In practice, however, Bantu males, especially Konabembe males, exert control over these organizations.

In contrast to the aforementioned NTFPs that have become commercialized, there are also community associations with women as their core members. The members primarily sell *djansang* (*gobo* in the Baka language, *Ricinodendron heudelotti* [Baill] Pierre ex Heckel) or bush mango (*Irvingia* spp.) and use the income for their children’s education and treatment of diseases. The majority of the members, however, are Konabembe women or adolescents; no Baka men or women are included in these associations even though NTFPs are an important source of livelihood for the Baka people. Unlike the associations organized in response to state governments or NGOs, the memberships of these local associations strongly reflect the social relationships in local communities. It is necessary to find a way to effectively involve the underprivileged Baka people in these emerging economic opportunities.



## CONCLUSIONS

In southeastern Cameroon, NTFPs have become the major item of trade, equivalent to cacao, during the past 10 years. Many merchants, both from within and outside the country, search the interior forests for NTFPs.

The trend toward the commercialization of NTFPs has led to the emergence of voluntary associations in the study site for the first time. These associations are not as developed as those of other regions (e.g., the rotating credit association of the Bamileke in northwestern Cameroon). The multiethnic situation of this area appears to be one explanation for this disparity. Bantu farmers practice small-scale subsistence and cash-crop farming (cacao) using the Baka, who are now largely sedentary and economically dependent, as wage laborers. Although the relationship between the two groups can be described as ambivalent and complex (involving both positive and negative feelings toward the other), the Bantu and Baka maintain a mutually dependent relationship. Their asymmetrical relationship has been problematic in attempts to establish and manage community associations. The present local associations strongly reflect the social relationships in local communities in that they exclude Baka men and women despite the fact that NTFPs are an important source of livelihood for the Baka. Moreover, the socio-economic changes related to NTFPs provide a distinct advantage to the more economically powerful Bantu. It is necessary to find a way to effectively involve the underprivileged Baka people in these new economic opportunities.

The ethnicity-related problems of the Baka and the Bantu have additional dimensions. We have seen that southeastern Cameroon has become increasingly complex, socially, politically and economically, over the past century and a half. The Baka once had a more nomadic lifestyle, and the Bantu farmers were also mobile and divided into smaller groups. Thus, the social organization was quite fluid. The establishment of the “village” as the administrative unit by the official settlement policy accorded the role of pillars of the political community to the “original” Konabembe people. There remain, however, latent social tension and conflicts among different groups (clans or lineages) within the village.

While keeping in mind the differences within each group (e.g., the Baka and the Bantu) and their lineages or clans, we should also work toward establishing harmony among the ethnic groups, clans, lineages, and sexes despite the complexity of the social relationships involved. Thus, the problems of the current resident associations must be understood to secure the economic future of the Baka and Bantu and the fair allocation of income derived from NTFPs.

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their support and participation. I especially thank our field keeper, Mr. Alidou Lytti, who helped me conduct my field work.

## NOTES

- (1) This study was conducted as part of the JST/JICA SATREPS project, “Establishment of Sustainable Livelihood Strategies and Natural Resource Management in Tropical Rain Forest and its Surrounding Areas of Cameroon: Integrating the Global Environmental Concerns with Local Livelihood Needs.” The field work was conducted over a total of 6 months, from August 2011 to June 2013. Research on the land use and migration of the Gribé population occurred from August 2011 to September 2013 with the cooperation of several Gribé individuals.
- (2) “Konabembe” emerged from the etymological roots of the names of two brothers who are founders of the Konabembe; *kouna*, the sticky sauce, and *be’b*, spoon. According to documents from Canton Konabembe, the precise ethnic name is Kounabe’b (Lekabothmony, unknown). Today, however, with the exception of Kounabe’b speakers (e.g., elders) and the documents in Canton Konabembe, the term Konabembe is used with French signage (including in administrative documents). Thus, this paper follows the French signage.
- (3) A quinquagenarian resident of Gribé said that he had not seen cars in Gribé village until the construction of the logging road in 2001. At the opening of the logging road, goats were slaughtered for a large party.
- (4) *Nouveau* means “new” in French. The villages south of Gribé, Ngato Ancien, Zoulabot Ancien, Gounepoum Ancien, and Song Ancien, are referred to as *ancien*, which means “ancient” in French. Hence, people in Ancien villages moved to Nouveau villages.
- (5) According to the legend (Joiris, 1998: 25), during the period of German Cameroon, people in southeastern Cameroon were forced to work for the village, gathering wild rubber and constructing the roads from Yokadouma to Moloundou and from Lomie to Ngato Ancien.
- (6) This information was obtained from Konabembe men in their 60s (*dje-Waa*) and 30s (*dje-Waa*) and a Baka man in his 60s.
- (7) The general history of Konabembe, *Statut d’Organisation Traditionnelle du Canton Kounabembe*, was written by a former resident of Canton Konabembe. There are various theories about the legend of *dje-Waa*, the core of the Konabembe lineage, in each village and family group. This paper describes the history of Gribé village. The history of the Konabembe will be discussed in another article to follow.
- (8) Dzimou is often written as “Ndimou” or “Ndimu.” Leclerc (2012) used “Ndimu;” however, in this article, it was replaced with “Dzimou” for the sake of uniformity.
- (9) Basically, they cannot marry a person of the same lineage. In terms of *dje-Waa*, people of the Moluap family (Pip’s brother) often identify themselves as *dje-Ngella*. In such cases, the *dje-Ngella* can marry a lineal relative of the Moamie.
- (10) According to Rupp (2011), most clans of Bangandou farmers uphold the mythical history and totemic ideology of the animal with respect to their origins. In contrast, the Konabembe seldom refer to animals or plants when explaining their origins. A clan is an originally large group with a common ancestor who has become a legend. From this perspective, Rupp (2011) described their group of descendants as a clan. However, each Konabembe family in Gribé traced his/her family through five or six ascending generations and recognized the relationships among heads of families. Each Konabembe family was divided into smaller groups. Here, the Konabembe descent group is described as a lineage but not as a clan.

- (11) The Bakwele are among the Bantu-speaking people categorized as Bantu A85-b, which is similar to the Konabembe language. They reside in an area that spans from northeastern Gabon to the northern Congo and from southeastern Cameroon to the southeast. According to Ethnologue, the population is estimated to be approximately 13,000 (Lewis, 2009).
- (12) Baka clan names are derived from flora, fauna, and materials used on a daily basis. For example “tam-tam,” Njêmbé, originated from the liana called *kusa* (*Manniophyton africanum* Müll.Arg.), and Silò, originally a liana known as *kpongbo*, was used as material for baskets. Additionally, many names originated from animals, such as Likèmbà or female elephant, and *màmbé*, or Brazza monkey (*Cercopithecus neglectus*). However, myths about an animal common ancestor are not now recognized, and animals are not subject to food taboos. In contrast, the origin of Konabembe is derived from the misfortune or solidarity of family.
- (13) The locations of forest paths, camps, and houses in Gribé were determined using a Garmin GPS eTrek.
- (14) The forest path to Mikel is shown in Fig. 3. Today, the forest paths used by the Gribé people are incorporated into Bumba-Bek National Park. Additionally, the forest near the village was a commercial logging zone used by the Société Industrielle de Bois d’Afrique (SIBAF) from 1999 to 2005; starting in 2005, this zone has been used by a different logging company, the Société de Transformation de Bois de la Kadey (STBK).
- (15) The forestry law of Cameroon prohibits hunting and camping within the national park (Government of Cameroon, 1994; 1995). The distance from Mikel to Gribé is approximately 50 km through the forest, and the Baka people use the forest pathways to visit family. The logging road and main road to Mikel from Gribé village are 100 km.
- (16) I interviewed all Baka individuals about their birthplace and the camps/settlements at which they stayed throughout their adolescence and childhood. Geographical data were collected using a GPS with the cooperation of some Baka, Konabembe, and Kako men living in Gribé. Baka is called a forest camp based on the name of a river or a landmark tree.
- (17) The old settlements have already become secondary forests; however, we were able to locate several feral oil palm and banana plants, which are human-induced vegetation.
- (18) Dimpka/Dingpa is derived from the names of local trees (*Strychnos ternata* Gilg. ex Leeuwenb), and Koual is derived from *Ceiba pentandra* (L.) Gaertn.
- (19) A Community Forest (CF) is a forest established in part of a non-permanent forest domain based on a management plan accepted by both a village community and the governmental forestry administration.

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Appendix. Community associations in Gribé village (May, 2013)

Name	Creation	Recognition	Form of organization	Activity	Members and their posts			Ethnic group and sex <sup>1)</sup> (village <sup>2)</sup> /clan or lineage <sup>3b)</sup>	Finances	Remarks
					Posts					
Essayon voir	2011/08/13 by Konabembe women ( <i>da</i> -Djeck and <i>dje</i> - Waa)	not	Voluntary association	Tontine to use the NTPs	President: Treasurer: 2nd Treasurer: Secretary: Assistant secretary: Censor Adviser: Coordinator: Auditors: Others:		KW(G/dd) KW(G/db) KW(G/dw) KM(G/dw) KM(G/do) KM(G/dw) KM(G/dw) KM(G/db) KW(G/do) 7 Konabembe women including 6 women from other villages, 2 Konabembe men, 1 Mbimo woman, 1 Kako man, and 1 <b>Baka woman</b> .	Subscription and tontine	- Main members are the Konabembe young women from 10s to 20s.	
Soleil levant	2013/06/02 by Konabembe women ( <i>dje</i> - Waa) who marries with Muslim merchant	not	Voluntary association	Tontine to use the NTPs	President: Vice President: Secretary: Assistant secretary: Adviser: Treasurer: Censor: Auditors: Others:		KW(G/dd) OW(G/?[Ewondo]) KM(G/db) KW(G/do) KW(G/do) KW(G/dn) KW(G/dw) OW(G/?[Mbimo]) 5 Konabembe women, 4 Konabembe men, 1 Bulu woman, 1 Mbimo woman, 1 Kako man and 1 Central African woman.	Subscription and tontine	- Creation by the Bantu women who withdrawal from Essayon voir. - Main members are the Konabembe women from 30s to 50s who came from other villages and other Bantu.	
GIC des Agriculteur et Forestiers pour le DVT de Disso	2002/09/18 by Konabembe man (Gribé, <i>da</i> -Djeck)	2002/09/18 at MINAD- ER*	Cooperative	Agriculture	President: Secretary: Advisors: Censor: Auditors: Treasurers: Others:		KM(G/dd) KM(G/dd) KM(G/do), KM(G/do) KM(G/dd) OM(Y/?), KM(G/dd) KW(Y/dn), KM(G/dd) 3 Konabembe men ( <i>da</i> -Dieck)	none	- Creation by lobbying from the Netherlands Development Or- ganization (SNV), but no activities since 2002.	

\* MINFOF: Ministry of Forests and Wildlife, MINADER: Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, \*\* GTZ: German Technical Cooperation, \*\*\* WWF: World Wide Fund for Nature.

i) BM: the Baka man, BW: the Baka woman, KM: the Konabembe man, KW: the Konabembe woman, OM: the other Bantu man, OW: the other Bantu woman.

ii) NA: Ngato Ancien, ZA: Zoulabot Ancien, MA: Malea Ancien, SA: Song Ancien, G: Gribé, B: Bintom, Z: Zokadiba, M: Massea, B1: Biwala I, B2: Biwala II, ZN: Zoulabot Nouveau, MN: Malea Nouveau, NN: Ngato Nouveau, SN: Song Nouveau, Y: Yokadouma.

iii) About Baka clan's name, yd: *yé*-Dounou, ym: *yé*-Mambé, yl: *yé*-Likembá, yo: the other Baka clans. About the Konabembe lineage's name, dw: *dje*-Waa, dd: *da*-Djeck, dn: *da*-Nyh, db: *da*-Bopel, do: the other Konabembe lineage.

Appendix. (continued)

Name	Creation	Recognition	Form of organization	Activity	Members and their posts		Ethnic group and sex <sup>d)</sup> (village/clan or lineage <sup>ib)</sup> )	Finances	Remarks
					Posts				
GIC des Producteurs Agricoles pour le DVT de Moassom par Gribé	2002/09/18 by K'naabembe man (Gribé, <i>da-Djeck</i> )	2002/09/18 at MINADER*	Cooperative	Agriculture	President: Secretary: Assistant secretary: Advisors: Coordinator: Auditor: Treasurers:		KM(G/dd) KM(G/dw), KM(G/dw), KM(G/dd), KM(G/dd), KM(G/dw) KM(MN/dw), KW(M/do)	none	- Creation by lobbying from the SNV, but no activities since 2002.
CPF (Comité Paysan Forêt)	unknown by K'naabembe man (village chief of Bintom)	yes (unknown)	Cooperative	Supervise the Forest Management Unit (FMU)	Founder: President: Vice-President: Secretary: Assistant secretary: Treasurer: Vice-Treasurer: Auditors: Advisers: Censor:		KW(B/do) KW(B/do) OW(B/?) KM(B/do) KM(B/db) OW(B/?) KW(B/dw) KM(B/do), KW(B/?) KM(B/do), KW(B/do) KW(B/do)	Revenues generated from the logging companies STBK and SIM (Société Industrielle de Mbang)	- No activities
COVAREF Bounba-Bek No.13	2003/06/10 by GTZ** MINFOF* and WWF***	2003/06/10 at MINFOF*	Economic interest group (Groupement d'Intérêt Economique = GIE in French)	Developing the wildlife resources	President: Vice President: President C.E.G.E.S: Delegates: Auditors: Treasurer: Others:		KM(MN/?) BM(MN/?) KM(B1/?) KM(SN/?), KM(MN/?), KM(ZN/?), BM(ZN/?), BM(B1/?), BM(M/?), KM(M/?), BM(Z/?), KM(B/?), KM(G/dn), KM(MA/?), KM(ZA/?), BM(ZA/?), BM(NA/?), KM(NA/?), KW(B2/?), OW(Z/?), BM(Z/?) BW(M/?) BM(M/?), BW(Z/?), KM(B/?) and all village chiefs from Ngato Ancien to Ngato Nouveau	Revenues generated from sport hunting in ZICGC 13 and ZICGC 14.	- Creation by lobbying from GTZ, MINFOF* and WWF***

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i) BM: the Baka man, BW: the Baka woman, KM: the K'naabembe man, KW: the K'naabembe woman, OM: the other Bantu man, OW: the other Bantu woman.

ii) NA: Ngato Ancien, ZA: Zoulabot Ancien, MA: Malea Ancien, SA: Song Ancien, G: Gribé, B: Bintom, Z: Zokadiba, M: Massea, B1: Biwala I, B2: Biwala II, ZN: Zoulabot Nouveau, MN: Malea Nouveau, NN: Ngato Nouveau, SN: Song Nouveau, Y: Yokadouma.

iii) About Baka clan's name, yd: ye-Dounmou, ym: ye-Mambé, yl: ye-Likemba, yo: the other Baka clans. About the K'naabembe lineage's name, dw: *dje-Waa*, dd: *da-Djeck*, dn: *da-Nyih*, db: *da-Bopel*, do: the other K'naabembe lineage.

Appendix. (continued)

Name	Creation	Recognition	Form of organization	Activity	Members and their posts		Finances	Remarks
					Posts	Ethnic group and sex <sup>1)</sup> (village <sup>2)</sup> /clan or lineage <sup>3)</sup>		
Mbialabot Community Forest (Bintom village)	2011 by Konabembe man (Bintom village)	2011/09/06 at MINFOF*	Communal initiative group (Groupe d'Initiative Commune = GIC in French)	Logging operation	Delegate: Responsible for forest operation: Responsible for container: General secretary: Assistant secretary: Treasurer: Auditors: Coordinators: Prospectors: Advisers: Leaders of cultural affair: Others:	KM(G/dn), KM(Z/?), KM(B/?), KM(M/?), KM(Z/?), KM(B/?), KM(M/?), KM(G/db), KM(G/do) <b>BM</b> (G/yd), KM(B/?), KM(G/db) <b>KW</b> (B/?), KM(Z/?) 41 Konabembe men including 4 village chiefs, 7 Baka men including Gribé's <i>kukuma</i> (Baka chief), and 2 Konabembe women (not Baka).	1) Netherlands Development Organization (SNV) logging 2) Commercial logging	Four village joint projects (Gribé, Bintom, Zokadiba, Massea village). Start of commercial logging of Sapelli ( <i>Eilandrophragma cylindricum</i> ) since 2013.
Bogrisom Community Forest (Ancien village)	2012 by Konabembe man (Song Ancien village)	2012 August at MINFOF*	Communal initiative group (GIC)	Logging operation	President: Vice President (Responsible for finances): Vice President (Responsible for project): General secretary: Assistant secretary: Treasurer: Assistant treasurer: Inspectors: Communications consultants: Responsible for forest operation: Advisers: Others:	KM(SA/do), KM(G/dw), KM(SA/do), KM(G/do), KM(G/dd), KM(SA/?), KM(G/dd), KM(G/dn), KM(SA/do), KM(SA/?), KM(G/db), <b>BM</b> (SA/yd), KM(G/dd), <b>BM</b> (SA/ym), KM(G/dd), KM(SA/do), <b>BM</b> (SA/yl) 3 Konabembe women and 7 Konabembe men	1) SNV and CIFEM (local NGO at Yokadouma) 2) Commercial logging	Two joint projects (Gribé and Song Ancien village). No logging yet.

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i) BM: the Baka man, BW: the Baka woman, KM: the Konabembe man, KW: the Konabembe woman, OM: the other Bantu man, OW: the other Bantu woman.

ii) NA: Ngato Ancien, ZA: Zoulabot Ancien, MA: Malea Ancien, SA: Song Ancien, G: Gribé, B: Bintom, Z: Zokadiba, M: Massea, B1: Bwala I, B2: Bwala II, ZN: Zoulabot Nouveau, MN: Malea Nouveau, NN: Ngato Nouveau, SN: Song Nouveau, Y: Yokadouma.

iii) About Baka clan's name, yd: ye-Doumou, ym: ye-Mambé, yl: ye-Likembá, yo: the other Baka clans. About the Konabembe lineage's name, dw: dje-Waa, dd: da-Djeck, dn: da-Nyih, db: da-Bopel, do: the other Konabembe lineage.